1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

PREFACE

More than ten years ago I dreamed of traveling in Liang Shan and penetrating into the "Lolo nation," called the Independent Lolo region by foreign writers. Since the Sino-Japanese War, I have traveled and taught in the provinces of Szechwan and Yunnan. So I have had the opportunity to observe firsthand the immense southwest hinterland of China. Last summer I went to investigate the Lolo area in Liang Shan, and my previous dream was realized.

The period of investigation lasted from July 2 to September 26, altogether 87 days. My student assistant Hu Liangchen, the janitor of the school Old Fan, and I myself started from Ch'eng-tu. After we reached Lei-po we hired two interpreters, one named Wang Chü-sung and the other Hu Chan-yün, and also three black Lolo as headmen-protectors. These constituted the Frontier Inspection Team of Yenching University. We went westward to the Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-liang Shan for field study. The details of this trip have been recounted in Appendix II [not translated] and need not be repeated here.

The name "Lolo" is not used frequently among the people themselves in Liang Shan. The Chinese in the frontier area call the Lolo "Man-tzu"; in their own conversation they call themselves "I-chia." Therefore Lolo, Man-tzu, and I-chia are different terms, but they refer to the same people.

This book is entitled Liang-shan I-chia. Liang Shan is a geographical area; the meaning of I-chia is twofold. In a broad sense it denotes the whole Lolo society, and in a restricted sense it denotes the Lolo family and clan organization. The first chapter of this book, "Regions," points out the geographical area covered by this inspection trip. Chapters 2 through 5 describe Lolo social structure from large social groups to smaller ones in a continuous sequence from clan, kinship, family, to marriage. Chapters 6 through 9 describe the various important aspects of Lolo life, such as the economy, social classes, clan feuds, and magic, all characteristic of this society.

Liang-shan I-chia is a field report based on the data collected personally by the author. The study is centered on the family and the clan, but it also touches upon other phases of

131 Lolo retreated westward across Huang-mao Kang to Ta-liang
177 Shan. When Han-Chinese influence declined, the Lolo usually seized the opportunity to rebel. They came out of the mountains to disturb the different areas of the Hsiao-liang Shan so that in the Lei-po, Ma-pien, P'ing-shan, and O-pien area there [2] was no peace.

101 Actually the Lolo regions are not limited to the Ta-liang
131 and Hsiao-liang Shan. In Sikang there are, besides Chao-chüeh, eight counties of the Ning-nan district and the Chiu-lung county of the K'ang-ting district, in which is also distributed a number of Lolo families. According to reports by various experts there is a Lolo population of about 600,000 in the ten counties of Sikang. East of the county seats of Yüeh-sui and Chao-chüeh [3] in the Ta-liang Shan area live comparatively pure Lolo clans, which have their own social system and have never been assimilated by Han-Chinese culture.

[162]

The region from the Chin-sha Chiang southward within Yunnan is also inhabited by the Lolo. Of the population in Yunnan, nine out of ten who live in the plains are Han-Chinese, while those who live scattered in the high hills and mountain valleys are the un-Sinicized groups. In the area south of K'un-ming and Ta-li, the Pai-i, who are closely connected with the Thai-Shan people, are the main ethnic group. From here northward the un-Sinicized tribes are mainly Lolo or those who have close blood relationship with the Lolo, like the Moso and the Lisu. The Lolo have also moved from K'un-ming and Ta-li southward and eventually extended outside of Yunnan to the Indochina and Burma borders, where their traces are still visible. During 1942 the author stayed in Yunnan for eight or nine months and carefully observed the un-Sinicized people in that province. By checking the reports from different experts,
[162] he estimated that the Lolo and related tribes in Yunnan amounted to at least one million.

181 However, the Lolo tribes who inhabit Yunnan are some-
177 what different from those who inhabit Szechwan and Sikang. Because the Lolo in Yunnan intermarry with neighboring nationalities, their physical appearance has changed slightly; culturally, no matter whether it is in material life or in customs and
[142] traditions, they are considerably influenced by the Han-Chinese. There are many Lolo who have become so Sinicized that they identify themselves with Han-Chinese and do not want to be called Lolo.

000 After this general picture of the distribution of the Lolo in Szechwan, Sikang, and Yunnan, we can go further to

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

000 of the Yangtse and the Chinese who have settled near the home of these hardy raiders.

101 Here one comes right up against one of the most interesting secrets of interior China. Right in the heart of the land governed from Peking, by means of the provincial officials, is a large tract of country as big as some of the European states, where dwells a race of people practically independent. In the land of this race the Chinaman takes a very secondary place, and while in his own district and in the company of people who share his views he may express supreme contempt for these hillmen, calling them Mantsz and Lolo, terms which are abomination to the men referred to, if he enters the district where these despised people live he behaves himself admirably and uses far more respectful terms when addressing them. He knows that the use of the terms Mantsz and Lolo to the face of these people in their own land would probably lead to a great quarrel, with danger of fatal consequences. I have seen these hill people flare up with great anger at the bare mention of these much-resented terms.

[648] It is a great surprise to meet, right in the heart of China, a large district where the people live independently, keep their own customs, govern themselves, look on the Chinese as an inferior race, and only pay a nominal tribute to the Central Government, that from Peking rules over the Eighteen Provinces.

563 The Chinese who enter this hill land for trade or agriculture behave themselves far more circumspectly than they do in the foreign settlements of Shanghai or Hankow, or even in the British Crown Colony of Hong-Kong. In these latter places they still hold their own as the great race of the East, and while the European now and again treats the Chinaman

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for long wished to meet and conquer this much-talked-of Hill of Slippery Sand."

A few miles beyond this dangerous spot we came to the "Plain of the Great Well," where is a small market town frequented by the men from the hills on the other side of the river. We stayed there a couple of days, and as one of these was market day we saw quite a number of the men the fear of whom has been the cause of building all the white towers. A friend persuaded four of these men to face the camera, but before I got the picture they fled from the foreigner's new kind of gun, which, for all they knew, might possess wonderful powers of bewitching. Later on another group was coaxed in, and these stood the ordeal manfully, but not without a good bit of fear and trembling.

The afternoon of the second day we went down with several of these men to the ferry-boat and wished that we could go across with them. We found out that Chinese who wish to speak fairly respectfully of these hillmen call them Babu, which term may be a corruption of two Chinese words meaning "hill climbers." The Babus of West China have no affinity whatever with the Babus of Bengal. One would like to be quite sure of the origin of the word as applied to the hillmen. To this term the tribesmen make no special objection, though it is by no means a name of their own choice. Some Babu men came down to meet the boat on the other side, and as two clans have their borders near the ferry, those who came were armed, in case of attack by enemies. Clan enmity and tribal warfare are very rife. I noticed that some of the men carried very long spears, much longer than those carried by the Chinese on the south of the river.

A few were carrying wine across, in goatskins. I was told

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101 Possibly the example of Mencius has confirmed

the Chinese in their attitude towards the tribesmen. The ancient philosopher said: "I have heard of men using the doctrines of our great land of China to change barbarians, but I have never yet heard of any being changed by barbarians." The word translated "barbarian" is the word commonly used to denote the Nosu. In spite of Mencius, the aboriginals have many good points which the Chinese might learn of them.

000 There exists one fairly interesting Chinese book which deals with some of the tribes in Yunnan, but the writer is evidently not very much in love with his subject. He gives, however, a story as to the origin of the Chinese and Nosu. The story says that King Asoka of Magadha, in India, the great Indian king who lived in the fourth century B.C., and favoured Buddhism, took to wife one of the natives of Yunnan, and by her had a son named Ti-meng-sie. This son again had nine sons, and the third, Meng-sie-nioh, became the ancestor of the Chinese. The ninth son, Meng-sie-tsuh, became the ancestor of the white Nosu. Both statements are evidently stupid blunders, or can only refer to some local family, a branch of which afterwards adopted Chinese customs and was looked on as the head of the Chinese in that district. The Nosu have a far earlier origin than the fourth century B.C. Very likely they were in China long before the Chinese trekked from the north-west, and established themselves in South Shensi and North Honan.

Some of the stories of the aboriginals told by this writer are very good. One or two sound strangely familiar. A ruler's widow, with her son, who was the heir to the throne, was closely pursued by enemies. One day the son took refuge in an old temple, and shortly after those who wished to

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000 contact with these Nosu people. At that time the Nosu must have spread over a very vast area, and were probably the predecessors of the Chinese in much of what is now the Republic of China. The accounts of Chinese early history are practically found only in Chinese records. If some independent account could be discovered, which would throw light, from a non-Chinese standpoint, on some of the problems of the early history of this great country, it would indeed be welcome to all students of history.

797 191 The number of foreigners who have studied any branch of the Nosu language is very small indeed. The Roman Catholics have had a flourishing mission work among the Gni, a branch of the Nosu race, and Père Vial, who has for many years been the head of this mission, has given to the world 101 some account of this people and their language. There is, however, one serious criticism to make of Père Vial's writings. He persists in calling these people Lolo. This is, indeed, the name by which this race is known to most Westerners and Chinese. One ought always to be a bit suspicious of adopting any name for an aboriginal tribe which has been given to it by the Chinese, who are always so contemptuous of these peoples. As far as I have noticed, you can scarcely insult a member of the Nosu race more than by calling him a Lolo. These people deeply resent this term. At the use of it some of these aboriginals will flare up and get into a terrible rage. I have seen some men at such times almost or quite angry enough to commit murder. The ideographs which the Chinese use for the word Lolo are usually written with a "dog radical at the side," thus in a concise way expressing to all who can read the supreme contempt in which the Nosu are held. The

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

101 Chinese word for the tiny basket in which the Nosu ancestral spirits are supposed to reside is also pronounced Lolo, and often, when the word is used, the hillmen imagine that their forefathers are being insulted. In view of their deep aversion to this term, it is courteous for those who also have suffered abuse from the Chinese to drop the use of it. The name which the people prefer should rather be adopted. No-su or Ne-su may not be such a euphonious term as Lolo, but it conveys no sting, and is not an insult to a brave race, who have kept up their end of the wicket for so many centuries.

The first character of the word No-su is at times pronounced No, Ne or even Nieh, and its meaning is Black. The second character means race, people, class, etc. In some connections the word No means north, and here one may have the solution of the origin of the term which the tribes so resent. The north wind is the wind that comes from the No. It is possible that these aboriginals had their home, in the very early days, in the same district where the north wind came from, the No district. As the tribes were pressed farther and farther south, they would speak of themselves as a people coming from the No direction, the No race, the No-su, the No-no people.

Among the different dialects of China there exists a kind of Oriental Grimm's law, which turns certain consonants in one part into different consonants in other parts. N and L are two consonants which are thus exchanged. F and H are others. The province of Hu-nan, for instance, in Szechuan, is spoken of as the province of Fu-lan. In the same way it may have happened that the aboriginals from the north, the No-no men, became, to the people of Szechuan, by the

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

101 application of the above law, the Lo-lo men. If so, in the original meaning of the word there was no slur. This is the most plausible explanation I can think of in reference to the origin of the term so bitterly resented by many of my friends and their fellow-tribesmen. I therefore do all I can to discourage the use of the word, knowing how it feels to be called by an opprobrious term, in which the clever Chinese has hidden the supreme contempt in which he holds men who are not of his exalted race.

/91/ THE ORIGIN AND THE TRIBAL NAME OF THE LOLO

101

/92/ There are many Lolo widely distributed in the southwestern corner of our country throughout the eastern section of Yünnan province and the Ning districts /consisting of eight hsien, including the city Hsi-ch'ang, on the border between southeastern Sikang and southwestern Szechwan/. Formerly the Chinese called these frontier people "Lolo" 猓玀, also 猓猓 or 羅羅. After the War of Resistance /The Sino-Japanese War/, the Central Government /of China/ issued a special proclamation forbidding the use of this name, because the dog radical forming the two characters designated contempt and did not conform with the Government's principle of equality for all the peoples within the country. All tribal names which formerly contained the radical meaning dog were henceforth changed to names that contain the radical meaning man. The tribal name of the Lolo was thus changed to 倮玀 or 倮倮, /written with the radical meaning man/, and the terms "Lo-i" 倮夷 and "Lo-tsu" 倮族 gradually came into use. In addition, in Szechwan and Yünnan provinces, members of this tribe are often commonly referred to as the "I" 夷, and especially around the border area of Szechwan, they are often called "Man-tzu" 蠻子. The Lolo resent very much to be called Man-tzu and Lolo. Even the change in radical in the latter word is no remedy, for it still has the same pronunciation with its derogatory connotations for the Lolo, who do not read Chinese. Of the two names they especially dislike Man-tzu. If a Sheng-I /wild or independent Lolo/ who understands the Chinese language is called by this name, there is often danger of physical violence. It is said that among the I of certain regions, Man-tzŭ is understood to designate the robbers among them, and this may account for their resentment. On the other hand, they are not hostile to the term I, which originally must also have had some element of contempt, and contend that they ought to be so called. They would be even happier to be addressed as "I-chia "(pronounced "I-chiao "at the Szechwan border), that is, with the addition of the word "chia " to designate esteem. Their respectful form of address for the Chinese is "Han-chia, " or "Han-chia Sepo, " which is even more polite since Sepo means "nobility " (Heh-I class) in the I language. The Heh-I who are familiar with the Chinese language like very much to be addressed as "ta Heh-I. "

In recognition of the principle of equality, the Central Government proclaimed that henceforth all frontier tribes were to be called "border people. " Politically, there is no reason at all why this change

101 is not good. Scientifically, however, the change does not seem quite satisfactory, and practically, it is also very inconvenient. There are many kinds of frontier tribes living in the various southwestern provinces, and if all were uniformly designated as border people, there would be no means of differentiating them and confusion would ensue. Particularly specialists who are doing scholarly research in ethnology, linguistics, and related fields find this solution quite contrary to scientific principle. Furthermore, these frontier tribes, not being familiar with the Chinese language, are quite puzzled by the words "border people"/93/ and may even misinterpret them as some form of insult, in which case the intended remedy would defeat its own purpose. Upon investigation we find that the Lolo call themselves Nosu and give the name No to the Heh-I. In order to arrive at an appropriate name, why can't we transliterate these words into Chinese, which would not only simplify the matter but would also eliminate all possibility of misunderstanding or suspicion of intentional insult?

144 The Lolo belong to the Tibetan-Burmese group of people. The relationship is traceable in spite of the difference in racial types. The Lolo are in a medial position, being smaller than the Tibetans and
193 taller than the Burmese. All the words in the Lolo language are made up of several syllables with the stress falling on the last. Their sentences have inverted word order (the verb is placed after the noun; e.g., they
197 say "dinner to have" for "to have dinner"). Their language thus resembles the Tibetan and the Japanese and differs from the Chinese, indicating that the Lolo and Tibetan tribes might have sprung from the
173 same stock. Evidence of the Lolo's relationship to the Burmese may be found in one of the prevalent legends. Both the Burmese and the Lolo claim, with pride, to be the descendants of Meng Huo. The purpose of "The Eight Captures of K'ung-ming"--one of the good plays in the Burmese theater--is to counteract the plot found in the Manchus' "The Seven Captures of Meng Huo." /At the time of the Three Kingdoms (third century A.D.), Chu-ko Liang, or Chu-ko K'ung-ming, scholar-general of the Shu Han Kingdom, sent a Chinese army to the southwest to fight Meng Huo, chief of the native tribes there. According to the Chinese story, Meng Huo was captured seven times before he finally surrendered./ For similar reasons all the I claim to be legitimate descendants of Meng Huo and consider their lineage a great honor. Meng Huo was indeed a native of the southwestern border region and might very well have been an ancestor of these tribes. But the Lolo and the Burmese tribes originated long before the period of

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

CHAPTER VI

THE LO-LO OR NO-SU

The Lo-lo or No-su—Other names for them—Divided into Black and White—Rev. C. E. Hicks's article—Their arrival in Chaotung district—The independent Lo-lo—Mr. C. Baber's story—The Hsi-fan—The No-su of Chaotung and Weining—A decadent race—The feudal system—The Miao tenants—Religious ideas—Legends—The Flood—Marriage customs—Demonolatry—Burial customs—Slaves.

101 769 THERE can be no doubt that the Miao entered Kweichow from the east, the Chung-chia from the west, and Lo-lo from the north-west. The term Lo-lo is a name used for them by the Chinese, because they keep, or believe they keep, the souls of their parents in a miniature basket or hamper, just as the Chinese believe they have the souls of their ancestors in ancestral tablets. The Chinese word for such a basket is *lo-lo*, and hence the name by which these people are generally known to foreigners. 769 This miniature *lo-lo* is about four inches deep and six inches in circumference, made of split bamboo, commonly

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

769 wrapped round with a piece of calico, coarse as canvas, which is often the colour of a cocoanut from smoke and age. This *lo-lo* contains one or two bamboo tubes two or three inches long, about as thick as a man's little finger, and in the tube are fastened a bit of grass and a piece of sheep's wool. There is also a piece of bamboo six or seven inches long, like a thick pointed skewer, which goes through the *lo-lo*, and is doubtless used to fix it in its place. This *lo-lo* is sometimes kept in the house, sometimes placed in a tree, and sometimes hidden in a rock.

101 The Chinese also call them I-chia and I-pien, and these are the names mostly used in Kwei-chow. The word *I*, among many other things, means "remote," "foreign," and has the notion of barbarian in it. The word *pien* means "side," "place," "boundary." They call themselves *No-su*, and by this name we shall hereafter mostly speak of them.[1] What the two 564 words mean we are not able to say. They are divided into two classes, the Black and the White. The Black are the patricians or land-holders; the White are the plebeians, the tenants and serfs, often the slaves, of the patricians. In Szechwan they speak of them as "Black bones"

[1] The term *Lo-lo* they themselves regard as derogatory, and it is to them offensive.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
Miao AE5
Lolo AE4

Miao tribes.[76]

The Miao themselves, interpreted from their culture, represent an intermixture of a large number of differing cultural elements, including Chuang or T'ai, Yao, and Tibetan.[77]

The historical sources have indicated that the Man or Miao peoples migrated eastward from western Ssu-ch'uan or the eastern part of the Tibetan Plateau. This places their origin in the region occupied by the Fan in modern times. In fact, whether conscious of the distinction between Miao and Fan or not, both Boulger and Grantham called the west Ssu-ch'uan Fan by the term Miao when they discussed the great Fan uprisings of 1746 and 1772-76 on the Big and Little Gold River tributaries of the Ta-tu Ho in the plateau land northwest of Ch'eng-tu.[78]

In a sense more fortunate than the Kuei-chou Miao, the West Ssu-ch'uan Fan occupy lands even less attractive to the agricultural Han-Chinese than the high mountain slopes of Kuei-chou. Without the inducement of low-lying valley lands for the Han-Chinese farmers such as exist in Kuei-chou, the lands of the Fan are occupied by Han-Chinese only in the chief towns and there only by merchants and official elements. The problem of Fan displacement by Han-Chinese agriculturalists has not arisen to the same extent therefore. Here, then, tribal autonomy has been enabled to continue for a longer time and more thoroughly than in Kuei-chou.

8. The History and Migrations of the Lolo

In our preceding discussion of the early spread of the Miao into Kuei-chou, it was noted that this spread was probably checked in southern and western Kuei-chou by the Lolo who were recorded as masters and occupants of the area in the 3rd Century A.D. Wissman said that the entire highland triangle of Central and northeast Yun-nan was occupied by the Lolo prior to the coming of the Han-Chinese.[79] Their stronghold comprises the Ta-liang Shan, a mass of high mountains at the meeting point of Ssu-ch'uan, Yun-nan and Hsi-k'ang.[80] They are the group referred to in Chinese texts under the more inclusive ethnic name of Wu Man or Black Man, from the dark brown skin pigment of this race of people. Eickstedt and Eberhard classed them as Austro-Asiatic in racial stock, otherwise known as a branch of the Tibeto-Burman peoples.

Lolo AE 4

The derivation of the term Lolo is supposed to be as follows. At the close of the Sui Dynasty (581-618 A.D.) the outstanding leaders among the Man were bestowed the name of Kuei-chu. a term designating the chief who headed the shamanistic ceremonies in sacrifices to spirits. Literally it means "Master of the Spirits". The people of the Lo-tien area of southern Kuei-chou (where the Lolo were dominant) (See Photo 11) then called the Kuei-chu of the Lo Clan by the abbreviated term Lo-kuei ("Lo-spirit"). This term became erroneously changed to Lu-lu and subsequently to Lo-lo.[81]

It is very clear. said Eickstedt in 1944, that the source and origin of the Lolo lie in the north. Culture, economy and even physical feature types point toward the north. As the Lolo culture moved southward, it became watered down. The core of the northern group in recent years was built around the so-called Independent Lolo lords of Ta-liang Shan in southwestern Ssu-ch'uan. Here a blood-proud caste of nobility, the Black-bones, who fought, rode, herded horses and ruled, oversaw a stratum of underlings, the White-bones, who took care of the daily bread, and a stratum of slaves. The latter were formed from the intermixture of the original inhabitants with numberless former Han-Chinese who had been robbed and kidnapped and had forgot their heritage and now took themselves to be Lolo. Here in the Ta-liang Shan the singular culture of the entire folk has been expressed most strongly. Intermarriage between castes was punished by death. The witch-doctors and rulers even had an entirely separate script, which, besides serving cult purposes primarily, also had practical uses. But this ended at the Yun-nan borders. The farther south one traveled, the more one found that Lolo independence was reduced and the less there was of social stratification. In places in Yun-nan proper, the script, the horse-herding, and the name Black-bone are completely unknown among the Lolo.[82]

The types found among the Lolo in different localities show extraordinary differentiation in significant ways, according to Eickstedt. Thus, in Burma the clear, high Mongol racial element from the South China orbit is unmistakable, and this also is to be found in southeast and southern Yun-nan. In Ssu-ch'uan the middle China element is preponderant among the masses, while in the upper stratum of Blackbones, the tall-statured element with features of high relief, that is, the Europoid type, is clearly discern-

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
Lolo AE4

mao Ridge) and their power shrinks back to the Ta Liang Shan. When Han-Chinese power weakens here, the Lolo tribesmen go on a rampage and disturb the Hsiao Liang Shan region, so that there is hardly a day of peace and security in Lei-po, Ma-pien, Ping-shan, and Ngo-pien Districts ...

Actually, the Lolo habitat is not restricted by the Great and Lesser Liang Shan. Large numbers are found in Kuei-chou. In Hsi-k'ang, apart from the number in the Liang Shan there reportedly are some 600,000 Lolo in ten districts in the east. Within Yun-nan south of the Chin-sha Chiang also are a number of Lolo districts. The high altitude basins of Yun-nan are 80-90 per cent Han-Chinese in population. But the high mountain valleys and plateau lands are inhabited almost entirely by mountain tribes people including Lolo. South of a line between K'un-ming and Ta-li, the Pa-yi or T'ai tribes are the predominant group of tribes people, living mostly in the low-lying plains and basins. North of this line, the tribesmen are Lolo and related groups such as the Mo-hsieh (Mo-so) and the Li-hsieh (Li-su). The Lolos also have spread south of this line, and there are even small numbers in Vietnam and Burma. Lin Yueh-hua estimated that the Lolo and Lolo-related tribes people in Yun-nan numbered not less than 1,000,000. The Yun-nan Lolo differ from those of Ssu-ch'uan and Hsi-k'ang in that they have become highly Sinicized and have intermarried with Han-Chinese and other peoples, so that in features as well as culture there have been changes. Many of the Yun-nan Lolos consider themselves Han-Chinese and do not like to be regarded as Lolo. The northern Lolo, however, find their backbone in the so-called Black-bones who are a race of aristocrats scorning the Han-Chinese and maintaining a strict racial separation. The Chinese Communist Ya-kuang Atlas for 1952 gives a figure of 3,000,000 for the total number of Yi or Lolo in the southwestern provinces.

The Liang Mountains branch off from the Kung-ho Shan and divide into four great branches. The first and northernmost is between Ma-pien and Ngo-pien. In the Lolo area it is known as the Wan-shih-p'ing Mountain Range. It is the water-divide between the Ta-tu Ho and the Ma-pien Ho. The second branch is the main range of the Ta-liang Shan. It runs from Huang-mao-kang in the north and extends through Huang-ts'ao-p'ing, Yen-feng-Shan and Ta-feng-ting to reach Nan-huang-ts'ao-kang,

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
Lolo AE4

of their land and destroying the independence of "Nosu-land". (Pollard said that the Black-bone Lolos do not use the Chinese term Lolo, but call themselves Nosu). In 1951 the territory of these Lolos was designated by the Chinese Communists as the Liang-shan Yi Autonomous District, a recognition of what had been a de facto situation. (See Map 31).

8. The Geographical and Cultural Composition of Yun-nan.

In Yun-nan the principal settlement area of the Han-Chinese immigrants from the north and more especially from Central China lies on the highland triangle formed by the Yang-tzu or Chin-sha defile, the deep rift valley of the Red River, and the down-dropping escarpment of the Kuei-chou Plateau in eastern Yun-nan. From all three sides of this triangle, valleys reach in that drain off to the Chin-sha, to the Yuan (or Hung) Chiang, and to the Hsi Chiang. These are valleys that are frost-free and tropical, under about 4300 feet altitudes. The highland situation adjacent to the tropics, and the dry sunny winters and mild wet summers of this highland triangle of central Yun-nan, said Wissman,[41] produce low temperature contrasts of a climate comparing favorably with those of East China and North China.

Level land in wide valley basins is available only in the east around the provincial capital of K'un-ming. In the south such land ends in the high basin of Meng-tzu, a mountain-enclosed balcony high above the rift valley of the Red River (Hung Chiang). To the northwest and northeast, the narrowed plateau is cramped by mountain ridges which rise 8900 feet above sea level into the cool zone. K'un-ming occupies the central market situation in the highland triangle. Its rival, Ta-li (See Photo 9), lies at the western end of the highland in a crossroads of trade-routes that give it access to every other settlement compartment. In this western part of the highlands, said Wissman, this basin is hardly a settlement of the Han-Chinese, but rather of the clever, energetic Min-chia, who have not let themselves be pushed from the fertile valley plain into the mountains by the Han-Chinese.

In this triangle, some five of the 11.8 million people of the province live in 1/7 of the area of the province, making for a density of 210 persons per square mile. In

[101 cont.]

La 101 131 The "Lao" belong to the "Thai" tribes that have given their name to the present province of Laos. They are represented in Tonkin by only a few families, in the sectors of Hoang-su-phi and La of Dongvan. Rather large groupings of "Lao" are established in the [648] Chinese canton of Tu-long, opposite Man-mei. Often persecuted by the "Thai" they have drawn close to the "Meo," whose manner of life they share.

The "Pen-ti-lolo" (1)

1. See note under "Lao" above.

[page 110]

Lo ●101 The "Pen-ti-lolo," whose name signifies "Lolo aborigines," belong by their dialect and most of their customs to the "Thai" group, despite the denomination of "Lolo" which is given them. They are likewise known by the name of "La-qua." The "Thai" call them "Mong"; they call themselves by the name of "Ca-beo."

Lo 161 [102] From 150 to 200 representatives of them are found in the sectors of Yen Minh and of Pho Bang, where they appear to have been settled from a very remote period, previous to the arrival of the "Meo." They are decadent and in the process of being absorbed by the Lo 142 "Meo." The typical man is tall, slim, vigorous in appearance. The women are stylish; their skin is whiter than that of the women of the Lo 291 neighboring tribes. They wear garments often decorated with embroidery and appliqued with material of various colors.

Lo 301 584 (Photo 465, Plate 30, shows a young "Pou-piao-lolo" girl (left) and a young "Pen-ti-lolo" woman (right). On the latter is seen the jewelry characteristic of this tribe, consisting of a long necklace of white beads wound round a great many times and covering almost the entire breast. This is the traditional engagement present.)

The "Pou-piao-lolo"

Lo 101 131 The "Pou-piao-lolo" are settled to the number of about twenty families in the same sectors as the "Pen-ti-lolo" and near them, who

Sino-Yao AE6
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
Lolo AE4

L
131 [102 cont.]
101 are very close relatives of theirs. The garments of the women are
[291] analogous to those of the "Pen-ti-lolo," but less decorated.
585 Marriages always take place during the winter.
L
764 The women follow the funeral corteges weeping, in the manner of the Annamese weeping women. When the head of a family has been buried, his sons keep a fire burning on his grave for nine days.

The "La-ti" (1)

1. See note 1 under "Lao" on page 110.

S
101 The "La-ti," most of whom are settled in the Chinese canton
131 of Tu-long, are represented in Tonkin by about one hundred families, in the sectors of Xin Man and of Man Mei. They are also called "La-chi"; they call themselves by the name of "A-Khu" (the men). Their classification in the "Thai" group is rather doubtful.

[103] CHAPTER III

THE "MAN" GROUP

[104] [Blank page in original text.]

[105] CHAPTER III

THE "MAN" GROUP

Y
101 The term "Man" in the Chinese language literally signifies "rude barbarians." It is the name given by the Chinese to all the populations of foreign race inhabiting the southern borders of the empire.

The Chinese also call the group "Yao," which we designate by the name "Man," but bearing in mind the fact that many of the neighboring groups (Thai, Annamese, Chinese of Upper Tonkin and

[169 cont.]

M 524 in a vertical direction, and each of its ends may lift themselves up to a height double that of the post. A youngster takes his place (astraddle or on his stomach) at each end of the pole, to which a rather rapid movement of horizontal rotation is given, combined with a vertical movement. These movements are induced by each one of the youngsters, who in his turn pushes against the ground. (Photo 168, Plate 42, shows one of these turning seesaws.) Some M [536] [231] "Méo" are strolling entertainers and train performing monkeys. (Photo 385, Plate 42.)

M 231 We have found, in a rather large number of "Méo" homes, the [170] blackbirds known by the name of "mandarin blackbirds." They are slightly larger than our blackbirds. The beak is big and yellow; they have a hood and a little collar of yellow skin. Their ability to imitate is certainly surprising, for, not content with whistling like ordinary blackbirds, they imitate perfectly all the noises they hear: wails of the newborn, whinnying of horses, baying of dogs, coughs, gurglings of the water pipe, gratings of doors, and so on. These birds sell for very high prices.

[171] [Blank page in original text.]

[172]

CHAPTER V

THE "LOLO" GROUP

[173]

CHAPTER V

THE "LOLO" GROUP

L 101 131 161 The "Lolo," who form sizeable groupings in the provinces in the south of China, are represented in Tonkinese territory by only a few tribes, very unequally distributed along the frontier, from Baolac to near Phongtho, the total number of individuals in them scarcely exceeding 12,000.

L 131 361 The densest settlements are found in the region of Baolac, which contain the majority of the group, whose villages are more or

[173 cont.]

131 less scattered about among the "Man" and "Méo" villages. Every-
361 where else, in the regions of Dongvan, Yen-Minh, Hoang-su-phi, Muongkhuong, Coc-leu, Baoha, Trinh-Tuong, Phongtho, the "Lolo" form merely dispersed hamlets, each consisting of only a small number of cabins.

All the "Lolo" assert that their settlement in Tonkin goes back
173 to a very remote period, which certain of them indicate as about the beginning of the Christian era, a time when the "Lolo" formed a powerful state in eastern Yunnan, whose southern boundaries very closely approximated our present Tonkin frontier. As we have indicated in Chapter I, we have very often found in Tonkin "Lolo" in contact with the "Thai," who have not ceased dominating them and holding them in a completely subordinate position. Be that as it may, these tribes appear very long ago to have cut the ties that
[101] bound them to the large groupings from which they originated, and
[177] little by little they are losing their special characteristics, while adopting the mores and beliefs of the other groups among whom they live, "Thai," "Man," or "Méo."

128 [174] We shall study more particularly in this chapter the following tribes:

The "Lolo," properly speaking.
The "Fou-la."
The "Xa-pho."
The "Ho-nhi."

101 We have already seen in Chapter II that certain tribes designated by the name of "Lolo" ("Pen-ti-lolo," "Pou-piao-lolo") had better be classed in the "Thai" group which has absorbed them and with which their dialects and their costumes connect them.

[175]

The "Lolo"

101 This important tribe, by far the most numerous of the group,
131 is settled exclusively in the mountains of the region of Baolac, in direct contact with the "Méo."

[175 cont.]

101 They call themselves by the names of "Heu-lolo" ("Black Lolo") or "Peu-lolo" ("White Lolo") and in a more general way by the name of "Dji" (or "Gni"), which is that of the large tribe from which they originated. The Annamese sometimes call them "Man-Khoanh" (which is, "Man with the stripes") because of the numerous [291] horizontal, multicolored bands from forming the sleeves of the women's jackets.

142 Among the many varieties of natives who are met with in Upper Tonkin, the "Lolo" is the one whose type most nearly approaches our western type and they often are compared to the Bohemian type. Their appearance and their way of carrying their heads are noble and unconstrained. The eyebrows are horizontal; their color swarthy or copper. The women are slender and graceful, their bearing very elegant (1).

142 147

> 1. "The 'Lolo' women, amiable and stylish, are much sturdier than the Chinese women. They have not yielded to the fashion of foot-binding and work in the fields, alongside the men, always cheerful and ready to rest from labor by singing and dancing. They are considered the most beautiful women of the province, and frequently Chinese choose their legitimate wives from among these natives, some of whom, yes, many of whom, seem absolutely like Europeans, except for their clothing. Also they wear, here and there multicolored aprons which recalls those of the Slovak women of Hungary." E. Reclus, op. cit., p. 456.

142 La "Lolotte" is famous for the lightness of her coloring, the fineness of her profile, and the beauty of her eyes.

142 582 The "Lolo" type makes an impression at the first contact, especially because he presents so striking a contrast to the neighboring types. This general characteristic remains constant, as the "Lolo"

[176 cont.]

291 The costume of the "Lolo" women of Upper Tonkin include the following articles:

1. A very short jacket, rather like a zouave's jacket, leaving uncovered a band of bare skin at the belt. The back of the jacket and the sides of the front are decorated with appliqued pieces of material in lively colors. The sleeves are formed, from wrist to shoulder, of a succession of bands of material of various colors (reds, blues, browns). It is because of the arrangement of these sleeves
● [101] that the Annamese frequently call the "Lolo" the "Man with the stripes."

[177] 2. A pantaloon of a very full style, bearing wide embroidered bands and fringes of glass beads.

3. An embroidered apron reaching to the back of the knee. This apron is worn in back and leaves the front of the pantaloon uncovered.

4. A belt tied in front, which binds apron and pantaloon and whose embroidered ends hang down to the knees.

5. A headdress of a special model (1). The hair is fastened on

[554]

1. "Upon seeing a woman, one may always know from her headdress if she is an unmarried girl, a wife without children, or already a mother. If unmarried, she wears a little blue kerchief, embroidered in striking colors and ending in five points, each having a small silver bell. If married, she lays aside the pointed bonnet for a straw hat, likewise decorated with metal buttons. If a mother, she indicates her dignity by a red cord about her hair. Another cord announces the birth of a second child, the one which, according to custom, always assumes, whether son or daughter, the rank of first born." E. Reclus, op. cit., p. 457.

These details of headdress which E. Reclus reports among the "Lolo" women of China, are not verified among the "Lolo" of Tonkin.

[181 cont.]

769 778 nine knots for a woman, serve as armatures for figurines made from tufts of paper. These figurines, which are of a height of about ten centimeters, are fastened to the partition which forms the ancestral altar.

793 The "Lolo" have priests-sorcerers who pass down the traditions by word of mouth.

181 53 The "Lolo" are of a rather happy disposition, and like the "Meo" they neglect no opportunity for feasting. They perform singing dances, the boys on one side, and the girls on the other. These dances are accompanied by the musical instruments of which we have spoken above.

[182] The "F'ou-la"

101 [131] The "F'ou-la" form a tribe of the "Lolo" group which is represented in Tonkin by only a hundred people, spread in small hamlets the length of the frontier, in the regions of Hoang-Su-Phi, Muong-khuong, and Baxat.

The "Thai" call them the "P'ou-la."

In their dialect, the "F'ou-la" call themselves by the name of "Peu-pa."

101 582 [167] Like the other "Lolo," the "F'ou-la" come from the provinces of the south of China and are extremely mixed with the other tribes of the frontier zone, but they also preserve their original characters by avoiding all intermarriage with their neighbors. They maintain their special type as described above with reference to the "Lolo." [181] They are timid and gentle, which constitutes a weakness in relation to the neighboring tribes, who are more energetic.

197 The vocabulary of the "F'ou-la" differs noticeably from that of the "Lolo," but evidently is related to the dialects of the group; the sentence structure is identical with that of the "Lolo."

212 198 They are not acquainted with any writing; they employ Chinese characters. Their language of commerce is the "kouan-hoa."

342 231 The "F'ou-la" live in cabins of two principal models:

1. Cabins on piles, of the type used among the "Thai," but consisting of a flooring raised only a very little above the ground

[185] The "Xa-pho"

101 131 161 The name of "Xa-pho" is used to designate rather important "Lolo" tribes, numbering from 3,000 to 4,000 individuals, which are settled on the right bank of the Red River in the regions of Baoha and of Coc-Leu, mixed with "Thai" and with "Nhang."

These tribes call themselves the "Lao-pa."

The "Xa-pho" are rather closely related to the "F'ou-la." 181 648 Even more timid than the latter, they have allowed themselves to be completely dominated by the "Thai," who often treat them as veritable slaves, available to perform forced labor or to pay taxes without mercy. Moreover, the "Xa-pho" accept this inferior position, which they appear to have no desire to alter.

291 531 The costumes of the women resemble those of the "F'ou-la," but the jacket is shorter and it is edged by a wide band on which are embroidered lozenges filled with multicolored designs.

197 The dialect has many analogies to the "F'ou-la" dialect. The language of commerce is the "Thai" and sometimes Annamese.

177 The mores and customs of the "Xa-pho" come closer and closer to those of the "Thai" and of the "Nhang" among whom they live.

342 361 The cabins, which are very clean, are most frequently of the type built on piles. The hamlets are not far from the rice fields, but always located on the slopes of the hillsides.

771 769 No more than the other "Lolo," the "Xa-pho" have neither a religion nor beliefs which are well defined, beyond a vague worship rendered to their ancestors. They are very little interested in matters concerning souls and spirits.

773 They have very few legends. They appear to be totally ignorant of that of the deluge, which, nevertheless, is known, with numerous variations, by almost all of other tribes of Upper Tonkin. They have preserved one which explains in the following manner the required style of the "Lolo" jackets: The first human couple had four sons from whom are descended the four principal races of the region:

[101] The "Xa-pho" called "Lao-pa."
The "Thai" called "Gia-lo-pa."

[185 cont.]

773 The "Man" called "Yem-pa."
[101] The "Meo" called "Méo-pa."

[186] When the mother was making the first garment for her children, she commenced with the ancestors of the "Thai" and of the "Man," to whom she gave very good measure. Next, the piece of material being more than half used up, she cut shorter the garment for the ancestor of the "Méo." After this so little material remained that the ancestor of the "Xa-pho" could have only the little jacket still worn by the "Lolo."

[187] The "Ho-nhi"

101 This "Lolo" tribe is represented in Tonkin, between Phongtho
131 and Trinhthuong, only by a few hamlets containing a total of from
161 200 to 300 individuals. Important groupings of "Ho-nhi" are settled in southern Ynnnah, particularly in the region of Pou-eurl. They still are called by the names of "Ouo-ni" or "Wo-ni."

[167] They come from western Yunnan.

They have the general appearance of the "Méo," but they
142 have skin noticeably darker than the latter. They have very sturdy
147 constitutions, but are of a gentle and apprehensive disposition which
181 impels them to isolation.

They speak a "Lolo" dialect rather different from that of the
197 other tribes of the group. They use the "kouan-hoa" as their com-
198 mercial language. They have a very limited number of literate
212 persons.

The costume of the men resembles that of the "Méo" of the
291 region, but the blue color of the costume is a very dark shade.
[177] The women likewise wear clothing of a very dark-blue material, which includes the following:

1. A jacket reaching down to the knees. This jacket is slit on the left side from the bottom up to the belt. The front is lifted up and fastened to the belt on the right side.

2. A breast covering of triangular shape. The point of the triangle is at the top, held about the neck by a cord. The lower

Lolo NEH

CHAPTER VIII

THE LOLO AND XA ETHNIC GROUPS

Section 1

Origin of the Lolo--Their Way of Life

101. 175 The Lolo form an ethnic group which, according to Father Vial, originated in the regions located between Burma and Tibet. They have inhabited Yunnan and Szechwan for long centuries. Chinese Annals describe them as being divided into two kingdoms in the sixth century B.C. The first, called the Kingdom of Tien, was made up of tribes of White Lolo and occupied western Yunnan. The other, that of the Tsouan or Black Lolo, was situated in eastern Yunnan. The Kingdom of Nam Chieu, which was founded later in the eighth century of our era, and whose hordes invaded the valley of the Red River in 860, was composed of Thai and Lolo peoples.

Finally Truong Vinh Ky reports in his Annamese history an invasion of Tonkin made in the sixteenth century of our era by a wild tribe which he calls Hac La La and which came from Yunnan. Now the name La or Lala refers to the Lolo, and the word hác in the Sino-Annamese language means "black." Then it is a question of the Black Lolo. This invasion, moreover, which was victoriously repelled by General Le Minh, must have left a few families in the high region who did not return across the frontier.

Aside from these incursions, the immigration of the Lolo into Tonkin must go back very long ago, for certain of their tribes believe they are aborigines. One of them, the Penti Lolo, bears a name which has that meaning. The various varieties inhabiting Tonkin of whom we shall give a sketch /146/ are: The White Lolo, the Black Lolo, the La Qua or Penti Lolo, the Phu La, and the La ti. They account for one percent of the population of the high region.

142 156 The Lolo type is most handsome of any in the entire area. The men are of a wiry, vigorous constitution, and the women are graceful, rather pretty, and have more slender figures than most of the other mountain women. If one compares them with the Meo, near whom they usually live, one notices that the Lolo are more stalwart but more indolent, more intelligent and capable of a much higher

142 culture, but less cunning in business matters and less energetic in the
156 defense of their interests.

276 The Lolo smoke opium a great deal and this passion is highly prejudicial to their physical and intellectual development. Neither men nor women chew betel.

262 In their mode of living a truly characteristic custom should be
562 noted, that the women are vegetarians after they have attained puberty. They may not eat the tiniest piece of the meat of pig, fowl, or dog and must not even prepare their food with grease. For this reason their cooking is done in special saucepans.

342 The dwelling is constructed either directly on the earth as
361 among the Meo, or on piles as among the Tho. It is usually surrounded by fruit trees which give a picturesque appearance to the hamlets.

177 The Lolo, who in Tonkin are always somewhat overwhelmed in the midst of the Meo settlements, are easily influenced by their neighbors. They live in the same way, grow the same crops, and feed themselves in a similar fashion. The Meo, more greedy for gain and more energetic, are dispossessing them little by little from the better sections of ground, and there is every reason to believe that their conditions of existence will become more and more miserable.

197 Except the La Qua, all the Lolo varieties speak analogous dialects with characteristic syntax. They are the only ones who imitate the inversion of the Latin phrase by placing the object after the verb. All of these groups, detached for many long years from the large groups in Yunnan, have forgotten Lolo writing. Furthermore, they have not learned Chinese characters.

000 /There appear between pages 146 and 147 of the text the following two photographs: "Two White Lolo women"; "Two Black Lolo women."--translator/

/147/ Section 2

Costumes Peculiar to Each Variety

291 Each variety of the ethnic group is distinguished by a special
101 costume.

The first is that of the White Lolo, an expression which is translated as Peu Lolo in Chinese, Mia Khao in Tho, and Mung za

101
291

in their own language. The men wear a headdress, a turban wrapped irregularly about their long and badly combed hair, whose locks escape on the forehead. Their jacket is trimmed with blue cuffs and little bell-shaped buttons, and their trousers are decorated from top to bottom with embroidery and applique. Many of them adopt the Tho costume like most of the mountaineers. The women wear on their heads light blue embroidered kerchiefs, around which is wrapped a turban which comes down low over the forehead and whose embroidered ends fall to either side. Their tunic and skirt make up the prettiest and most picturesque costume of the region. The tunic is a sort of Hungarian pelisse whose collar, front panels, sleeve-cuffs, and the entire periphery of the garment are decorated with rich embroidery and with applique on a pretty background of light blue. The skirt is ornamented from top to bottom with appliqued squares and triangles of material, and with embroidery in large floral patterns also on a dark blue background.

The second variety is that of the Black Lolo, a phrase whose translation in Chinese is Heu Lolo, Mia dam in Tho, and Man zi in their own tongue. In the region of Bao Lac they are called Kan tao Lolo and this name, which means "cutters of heads," comes to them from an unusual custom which will be described further on in connection with the funeral ceremonies. Men wear the Tho costume. Women have their hair rolled up in an embroidered turban which covers the entire head and whose ends, edged with white beads and a long fringe, hang down upon the shoulders. They are dressed in a bodice which scarcely reaches to the belt, and whose front is covered with squares of embroidered cloth; around the whole of the sleeves is multiple white piping. They wear wide trousers edged with a band of embroidery. /148/ Over this, at the belt, they tie a loin-cloth open in front, trimmed with a band of square and triangular pieces sewn on, which go all around it and form a wide horizontal stripe in the rear. A white belt whose fringed, embroidered ends hang down in front completes the costume. Their principal finery is a wide silver necklace.

The Black Lolo sometimes are called Man Khoanh, especially in the Circle of Baolac, a name which means "of the stripes" in Annamese and which comes from the white circles which trim the sleeves of their women's bodices.

The third variety is that of the La Qua. This is the name which the Annamese give them. The Chinese call them Pen ti Lolo which means "Lolo aborigines," and the Tho designate them by the phrases Kan Mon or Pu Peo Lolo. They call themselves Ca Peo, and

901 291 the Black Lolo call them the same under the name of Man zi. If one notices that the word La, which is part of the expression La Qua, means Lolo to the Annamese, it appears that the latter recognize that the La Qua belong to the Lolo group like the Chinese and Black [197] Lolo. However, we must add that their language is completely different from that of the other varieties of the group. This may result from the fact that they have been separated from large groups of their kindred for many centuries during the course of which their language must have undergone great changes.

Among them, men wear Tho dress. As to the women, they have a very original costume which makes these pretty mountain girls appear quite coquettish because of its rich colors and quantities bead trimming. They roll their hair in a turban and place a small embroidered kerchief on top of this when in holiday dress, which drops down onto the back. As for their garments, underneath they wear breast-covering decorated with embroidered applique, and over this a very pretty bolero edged with square embroidery on the front panels and the entire length of the sleeves. A skirt, edged at the bottom with embroidery and a row of beads, is tied at the waist. It is covered with an apron colored indigo like all the background of the costume. The waist is tied in by a white belt /149/ /The following two photographs appear between pages 148 and 149 of the text: "Three Black Lolo women"; "Penti Lolo men and women."--translator/ whose embroidered and fringed ends come around and drop in front of the apron. An embroidered kerchief is also fastened [301] at the back to the collar of the bolero. Finally, the bosom is completely covered with necklaces of white beads, which are wound around the neck a great number of times, and whose last rows go down as far as the belt.

Now comes as the fourth variety the Phu La, who call themselves Peu Pa. There are very few of them in Tonkin, consisting of a few families which inhabit the frontiers in the third and fourth Military Territories. They live somewhat like savages in their little houses on piles, raised up only a meter above the ground. The men's clothing consists of a short jacket and a trousers trimmed with embroidery at the bottom. The women wear a little black jacket edged with embroidery applied in squares and in lozenges, and a skirt of the same color edged in red, held in at the waist by a wide belt whose [302] fringes drop in front. Their headdress consists of a chignon which they put on the top of the head, wrapped in an embroidered kerchief, and of a black hood placed at the rear.

101 The Ho Nhi may apparently be connected with the Lolo group
197 because of their language. There are very few of them in Tonkin,
131 and they are settled at the extreme western part of the Chinese frontier.
342 Their cabins, built on the soil itself, have roofs which come down
291 very low and mud walls. The men's clothing is of the style usual among the mountaineers and very dark blue in color. The women wear a garment of the same basic color, consisting of a long tunic whose inner skirt is raised up on the right hip, and a breast-covering, wide trousers descending to the knee, and leggings which are put on like stockings and tied up with garters. Their headdress is made by placing
[302] a dark blue kerchief over their chignon whose fringes drop to each side of the face, and they put on top of this a leather crown trimmed with little silver bells.

/150/

Section 3

Customs and Religious Ideas

771 The customs of the Lolo who have immigrated to Tonkin have not been preserved in their primitive purity and frequently are full of customs of the neighboring ethnic groups. Detailed study of them, therefore, will not be interesting from an ethnographic point of view. We shall only point out those which include some trace of characteristic mores.

[581] Customs relating to marriage are very obviously the same as among the Meo. Those relating to death have certain unusual characte
764 istics. Thus, among the Kan tao Lolo or "cutters of heads," the dead are buried without any coffins and a hollowed-out bamboo extends from the head of the corpse and comes out above ground level. When the children of the deceased think that decomposition of the corpse must be completed, they make certain by placing their nose at the upper end of the bamboo. When no further odor emanates, they proceed to exhume the head of the corpse and place it in a basket which they expose to view in their cabin. The object of this rite is the revival each day of the memory of their deceased relative.

769 The ancestors' tablet among the Lolo is made up of a paper figurine which is hung up on the partition of the cabin.

When the anniversary of a deceased relative is to be celebrated, a mannequin is constructed, stood up and dressed so as to recall the one whose memory they wish to honor. Women come to sing and